

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

S E C R E T STATE 214544

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM DICK MOOSE

FOLLOWING REPEAT NAIROBI 11284 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO  
ADDIS ABABA ABU DHABI CAIRO JIDDA KHARTOUM LONDON MOGADISCIO  
MOSCOW PARIS SEP 01.  
QUOTE S E C R E T NAIROBI 11284

LONDON PASS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBOR, PGOV, US, KE, ET, SO

SUBJ: HORN OF AFRICA: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S MEETING  
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI

REF: STATE 205519, STATE 207107

1. SUMMARY. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE, ACCOMPANIED BY  
AMBASSADOR LE MELLE, HAD VERY FRIENDLY MEETING WITH KENYAN  
FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI AUGUST 31, PRIMARY TOPIC BEING  
HORN OF AFRICA. WAIYAKI WELCOMED MOOSE'S ASSURANCES OF  
CONTINUED U.S. AWARENESS OF KENYAN INTERESTS IN THE HORN  
AND EXPLANATION OF REASONS WHY IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR  
DECISION ON ARMS FOR SOMALIA CURRENTLY BEING HELD IN  
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ABEYANCE. WAIYAKI INDICATED THAT HE THOUGHT OUR STRATEGY  
WAS SOUND, THAT IT PARALLELED KENYA'S OWN STRATEGY  
INDEPENDENTLY ARRIVED AT EARLIER THIS YEAR, AND THAT IT  
WAS CONSISTENT WITH WHAT KENYANS HAD BEEN TOLD IN PAST  
TWO WEEKS BY FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER AND BRITISH FOREIGN  
SECRETARY. WAIYAKI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE  
WESTERN ARMS SUPPLY TO SOMALIA WAS GREATER IN KENYA PARLIA-

MENT AND IN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT THAN IN MFA, BUT HE NEVER-THELESS FELT ON BALANCE THAT THE WEST WOULD HAVE BETTER CHANCE OF RESTRAINING SOMALI APPETITE FOR TERRITORIAL EXPANSION IF IT COULD SUPPLANT THE SOVIETS AS PRINCIPAL ARMS SOURCE. WAIYAKI PROBED U.S. VIEWS ON ETHIOPIA AND INDICATED IN TURN THAT KENYA STILL SEES SUBSTANTIAL COMMON INTERESTS WITH ETHIOPIA OVER THE LONG TERM. U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO KENYA WAS NOT DISCUSSED. END SUMMARY.

2. DRAWING ON POINTS (A),(B), AND (C) OF PARA 2 STATE 205519, ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE OUTLINED CURRENT STATUS OF OUR DECISION ON ARMS FOR SOMALI. HE RECALLED THAT HE HAD TWICE EMPHASIZED TO SOMALI AMBASSADOR THAT U.S. ATTACHES MUCH IMPORTANCE TO RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF KENYA. HE ALSO INDICATED TO WAIYAKI THAT SOMALIS HAD BEEN INFORMED OF REASONS FOR OUR DELAY ACTING ON THEIR ARMS REQUEST, AND HE CONFIRMED TO WAIYAKI THAT NO SPECIFIC TRANSACTIONS WERE CURRENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION.

3. WAIYAKI EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR MOOSE'S EXPOSITION OF U.S. POLICY, WHICH HE SAID WOULD LET GOK REST MUCH EASIER ABOUT THE HORN. HE EXPLAINED THAT KENYA HAD EMBARKED ON A STRATEGY EARLIER THIS YEAR OF WORKING THROUGH CONSERVATIVE ARAB STATES TO REDUCE SOVIET INFLUENCE IN SOMALIA, RECKONING THAT THIS WOULD PERMIT IMPROVEMENT OF KENYAN-SOMALI RELATIONS. WAIYAKI HAD EXPLORED THIS STRATEGY WITH SUDAN, EGYPT AND SECRET

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U.A.E., AT THE SAME TIME DISCUSSING IT IN GENERAL TERMS WITH SOMALI AMBASSADOR IN NAIROBI AS WELL AS SOMALI VICE-PRESIDENT WHO HAPPENED TO BE IN KHARTOUM AT SAME TIME AS WAIYAKI. WAIYAKI HAD BEEN DELIGHTED TO DISCOVER THAT U.S., UK AND FRANCE WERE PURSUING A PARALLEL POLICY, AND HE HAD TOLD TED ROWLANDS BEFORE ROWLANDS' VISIT TO SOMALIA THAT KENYA ENDORSED WESTERN EFFORTS TO PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE FOR THE SOMALIS. MOREOVER, KENYA HAD BEEN EXTREMELY DISPLEASED WITH ETHIOPIA, BOTH ON GROUNDS OF EPMG ABUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND BECAUSE MENGISTU WAS FORGING A SOVIET CONNECTION.

4. WAIYAKI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOMALIA'S MOVE INTO THE OGADEN HAD GIVEN SOME KENYANS COLD FEET, WITH THE PROSPECT OF WESTERN ARMS IN SOMALI HANDS EVENTUALLY BEING TRAINED ON KENYANS IN THE NORTHEAST. FURTHERMORE, SIAD'S VISIT TO MOSCOW AS A BIG QUESTION MARK. ALTHOUGH THE VISIT WAS BILLED AS A SOVIET INITIATIVE, KENYANS THOUGHT POSSIBLY SIAD HAD INVITED HIMSELF. THE DANGER WAS THAT THE SOMALIS WOULD END UP EVEN DEEPER IN THE SOVIETS' POCKET. NEVERTHELESS, WAIYAKI STILL BELIEVED THAT THE WEAPONS THE SOMALIS MIGHT GET FROM THE WEST WOULD BE LESS THREATENING TO KENYA THAN EQUIPMENT PROVIDED BY THE SOVIETS, ALTHOUGH HE FAILED TO SEE HOW

ONE COULD DRAW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE WEAPONS IN THE CONTEXT OF DESERT WARFARE. PERHAPS THE BEST THING FOR THE U.S. TO DO WOULD BE TO KEEP THE SOMALIS DANGLING ON A STRING. MOOSE OBSERVED THAT WE HAD TRIED THAT FOR A WHILE.

5. WAIYAKI WENT ON TO OFFER HIS LONG-TERM ASSESSMENT OF THE HORN. HE KNEW THE SOMALIS AS HOT-TEMPERED, BRAVE, AND POSSESSED OF A GREAT CAPACITY FOR DECEPTION. THEIR FIERCENESS WAS MATCHED ONLY BY THE ETHIOPIANS. WAIYAKI WAS SURE THE ETHIOPIANS WOULD EXACT A FEARFUL RETRIBUTION FROM SOMALIA--THE WEST MIGHT FIND ITSELF OBLIGED SOME DAY TO SAVE SOMALIA'S NECK AS THE ETHIOPIANS MARCHED ON MOGADISCIO. WHILE THE SOMALIS HATE THE ETHIOPIANS, THEY DO NOT HATE KENYA. THIS  
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WAS ONE REASON KENYA FELT A SOMALI ATTACK ON KENYA WAS NOT OF THE SAME PRIORITY AS THE OGADEN.

6. MOOSE ASKED HOW THE SOVIETS COULD HAVE CALCULATED THEIR OWN INTERESTS IN THE HORN IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY ENDED UP BACKING TWO BITTER RIVALS. WAIYAKI SURMISED THAT THEY HAD FIRST BEEN ATTRACTED BY THE PROSPECT OF FACILITIES AT BERBERA, AND HAD IGNORED ETHIOPIA AS BEING TOO FEUDAL. LATER THEY HAD BECOME DISILLUSIONED WITH THEIR INABILITY TO TURN SOMALIA INTO A TRUE SOCIALIST STATE, AND WERE MUCH IMPRESSED BY THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION. WHAT THEY FAILED TO UNDERSTAND WAS THE INCOMPATIBILITY OF AFRICAN TRADITIONS WITH MARXISM. THE AFRICAN PEASANT VALUED LAND ABOVE ALL ELSE--YOU COULD GET HIM TO SUBSCRIBE TO THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM, BUT WITHIN A YEAR OR TWO HE WOULD ASK FOR A TITLE TO HIS OWN LITTLE PIECE OF LAND. THIS WAS WHY KENYANS WEREN'T WORRIED ABOUT SOVIET PROVISION OF ARMS TO ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS--THEY WOULD ACCEPT THE ARMS, BUT THEY WOULD SOON KISS THE SOVIETS GOOD-BYE WHEN THE STRUGGLE WAS OVER.

7. WAIYAKI SAID HE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW U.S. POSITION ON ETHIOPIA. HE SAID KENYA COULD NOT CONDONE SECESSION OF ERITREA, AND COULD NOT APPROVE OF ACTIONS CONTRARY TO 1964 OAU RESOLUTION REGARDING MAINTENANCE OF PRE-INDEPENDENCE BOUNDARIES. HOWEVER, GOK DOES FAVOR GREATER AUTONOMY FOR MINORITY AREAS SUCH AS ERITREA. RECENTLY KENYA HAD COMPARED POSITIONS WITH FRENCH AND BRITISH, AND HE INVITED MOOSE TO OUTLINE U.S. VIEWS. MOOSE SAID THE QUESTION WAS DIFFICULT. WE BELIEVE IN PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY EVERYWHERE, AND WE HAD INVOKED THE PRINCIPLE OF SHABA CRISIS. WE DO NOT RPT NOT SUPPORT SECESSION OF ERITREA. BUT WE COULD OFFER NO SOLUTION FOR ERITREA, ESPECIALLY SINCE OUR INFLUENCE WITH EPMG EXTREMELY LIMITED (PARENTHETICALLY, HE NOTED SOME RECENT  
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SOFTENING OF ETHIOPIAN HOSTILITY TOWARD U.S.). HE FELT IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT EPMG COULD REASSERT ITS CONTROL IN ERITREA WITHOUT RESORT TO MASSIVE REPRESSION, AND THIS WAS DISTASTEFUL TO THE U.S., BOTH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS. PERHAPS SOME ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT IN FUTURE COULD WORK OUT A PROPOSAL OFFERING SUBSTANTIAL AUTONOMY TO ERITREA, BUT FOR THE MOMENT WE COULD ONLY SAY THAT WE SUPPORT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND OPPOSE SECESSION.

8. WAIYAKI SAID HE HAD NOTED SIGNS OF ETHIOPIAN UNHAPPINESS WITH THEIR NEW-FOUND SOVIET FRIENDS. AS FAR AS KENYA WAS CONCERNED, PRESIDENT KENYATTA HAD PRESIDED OVER MEETING RECENTLY WHICH DECIDED THAT KENYA-ETHIOPIA DEFENSE AGREEMENT SHOULD STAND. KENYA WOULD BE HAVING EXPERT-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA ON THE BORDER BEGINNING NEXT WEEK, AND EXPECTED LATER TO CONVENE INTER-MINISTERIAL CONSULTATIONS. MOOSE SAID WE HOPED U.S.-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS WOULD IMPROVE ONE DAY, AND THAT WE REMAINED INTERESTED IN IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA AS WELL. HOWEVER, THERE ARE LIMITS TO OUR ABILITY TO PURSUE THESE GOALS, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT COMES TO USING MILITARY ASSISTANCE AS AN INDUCEMENT. HE RECALLED HIS EXPERIENCE ON THE SENATE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF, WHEN ONE OF HIS TASKS WAS TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR ARMS TRANSFERS TO BE USED AS FOREIGN POLICY TOOL.

9. WAIYAKI LAUGHED AND SAID HE KNEW ALL ABOUT OUR RESTRICTIONS ON ARMS TRANSFERS. LUCKILY HE HAD BEEN ABLE TO PERSUADE SENATOR CLARK LAST YEAR NOT TO BLOCK ARMS FOR KENYA. MOOSE SAID WE FELT A NEED TO BE VERY CAUTIOUS IN PROVIDING ARMS. BUT NEVERTHELESS THERE ARE SOME PLACES WHERE THE SITUATION IS SUFFICIENTLY STABLE THAT WE CAN FURNISH ITEMS THAT DON'T GO BEYOND A CERTAIN LEVEL. THIS WAS WHY WE ARE PLEASED WITH F-5 SALE TO KENYA, WHICH WE ARE TOLD IS PROGRESSING VERY WELL. WAIYAKI INDICATED THAT KENYAN DEFENSE PEOPLE AND MANY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WERE EAGER FOR KENYA TO ACQUIRE MORE ARMS, AND KENYA MFA FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN THE NUANCES

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OF ITS POLICY REGARDING WESTERN ARMS SALES TO SOMALIA. HE OFFERED NO FURTHER ELABORATION OF WHAT KENYA MIGHT DO WITH RESPECT TO NEW REQUESTS FOR ARMS.

10. WAIYAKI SAID KENYA VERY PLEASED BY HIGH LEVEL CONVERSATIONS WITH FRENCH, BRITISH AND NOW AMERICANS IN PAST TWO WEEKS. HE THANKED MOOSE FOR COMING AND EXPRESSED HOPE THEY MIGHT MEET

AGAIN DURING UNGA. MOOSE SAID HE SHARED THIS HOPE.

11. FOREGOING HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
MOOSE AND IS SUBJECT TO ANY REVISIONS HE MAY HAVE.

LE MELLE UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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